

APPENDIX II

BACKGROUND OF COMMISSIONERS

Carolyn Bartholomew, Chairman

Carolyn Bartholomew was reappointed to the Commission by House Speaker Nancy Pelosi on December 19, 2007, for a fourth term expiring December 31, 2009. Chairman Bartholomew was unanimously elected as the Commission's Chairman for the 2009 report cycle and served as the Commission Vice Chairman for the 2006 and 2008 report cycles and Chairman for the 2007 report cycle.

Chairman Bartholomew worked at senior levels in the U.S. Congress, serving as Counsel, Legislative Director, and Chief of Staff to U.S. House of Representatives Democratic Leader Nancy Pelosi. She also served as a Professional Staff Member on the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. Previously, she was a legislative assistant to then-U.S. Representative Bill Richardson.

In these positions, Ms. Bartholomew was integrally involved in developing U.S. policies on international affairs and security matters. She has particular expertise in U.S.-China relations, including issues related to trade, human rights, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Ms. Bartholomew led efforts in the establishment and funding of global AIDS programs and the promotion of human rights and democratization in countries around the world. Ms. Bartholomew was a member of the first Presidential Delegation to Africa to Investigate the Impact of HIV/AIDS on Children; and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations Congressional Staff Roundtable on Asian Political and Security issues. In addition to U.S.-China relations, her areas of expertise include terrorism, trade, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, human rights, U.S. foreign assistance programs, and international environmental issues. She also currently serves on the Board of Directors of the Kaiser Aluminum Corporation and the Polaris Project.

Chairman Bartholomew received a B.A. from the University of Minnesota, an M.A. in anthropology from Duke University and J.D. from Georgetown University Law Center. She is a member of the State Bar of California.

Daniel A. Blumenthal

Daniel A. Blumenthal was reappointed to the Commission by Senate Republican Leader Mitch McConnell for a second two-year term expiring December 31, 2009. Commissioner Blumenthal served as the Commission's Vice Chairman for the 2007 report cycle.

Daniel Blumenthal is a Resident Fellow in Asian Studies at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. He is a member of the Academic Advisory Group of the Congressional U.S.-China Working Group and has been a member of the Project 2049 Institute's Board of Advisers since 2008. Previously, Mr. Blumenthal was senior director for China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mongolia in the Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs from March 2004 to November 2004 during the first George W. Bush administration. He developed and implemented defense policy toward China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mongolia, during which time he received the Office of the Secretary of Defense Medal for Exceptional Public Service. From January 2002 to March 2004, he was County Director for China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, International Security Affairs.

Before his service at the Department of Defense, Mr. Blumenthal was an Associate Attorney, Corporate and Asia Practice Groups, at Kelley Drye & Warren L.L.P. Earlier, he was an Editorial and Research Assistant at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

Mr. Blumenthal received an M.A. in International Relations and International Economics from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, and a J.D. from the Duke University School of Law in 2000. He has written extensively on national security issues.

Peter T.R. Brookes

Commissioner Brookes was reappointed to the Commission by House Minority Leader John Boehner on December 6, 2007, for a second two-year term expiring December 31, 2009.

As senior Fellow at The Heritage Foundation, Peter Brookes develops and communicates Heritage's stance on foreign policy and national security affairs through media appearances, research, published articles, congressional testimony, and speaking engagements.

In addition, he writes for the *New York Post*. Brookes is also a contributing editor for *Armed Forces Journal* magazine and a contributor at *Townhall* magazine, having over 300 articles published in over 50 newspapers, journals and magazines.

He is the author of *A Devil's Triangle: Terrorism, Weapons of Mass Destruction and Rogue States* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, hardback 2005, paperback 2007).

Brookes has made nearly 1,000 appearances as a commentator on TV and radio and has been quoted by many of the world's largest newspapers and magazines. He is also a frequent public speaker both in the United States and overseas and has testified numerous times before both the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives on foreign policy, defense, and intelligence issues as an administration official and as a private citizen.

Before coming to Heritage, Brookes served in the George W. Bush Administration as the deputy assistant secretary of Defense for Asian and Pacific Affairs. Prior to joining the Bush Administration, he worked as a Professional Staff Member with the Committee on International Relations in the U.S. House of Representatives. He also served with the CIA. Just prior to his CIA service, he worked for the State Department, at the United Nations, and in the defense industry.

Brookes is a decorated military veteran, having served on active duty with the U.S. Navy in Latin America, Asia, and the Middle East. He is a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy, the Defense Language Institute, the Naval War College, and the Johns Hopkins University.

Robin Cleveland

Principal, Olivet Consulting, LLC. Ms. Cleveland has three decades of legislative, management, budget, and policy experience in national security and international economic and development affairs. She has served as the Counselor to the President of the World Bank, Associate Director at the White House Office of Management and Budget and in a variety of positions serving U.S. Senator Mitch McConnell on the Senate Intelligence Committee, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and the Senate Appropriations Committee. During her tenure in the White House, Ms. Cleveland co-led the interagency effort to develop two Presidential initiatives, the Millennium Challenge Corporation and the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, reflecting her experience linking policy, performance, and resource management. Ms. Cleveland graduated from Wesleyan University with honors.

Jeffrey L. Fiedler

Jeffrey L. Fiedler was reappointed to the Commission by House Speaker Nancy Pelosi on December 19, 2007, for a second term expiring December 31, 2009. Fiedler is Assistant to the General President, and Director, Special Projects and Initiatives, for the International Union of Operating Engineers. Previously, he was President of Research Associates of America (RAA) and the elected President of the Food and Allied Service Trades Department, AFL-CIO ("FAST"). This constitutional department of the AFL-CIO represented 10 unions with a membership of 3.5 million in the United States and Canada. The focus of RAA, like FAST before it, was organizing and bargaining research for workers and their unions.

He served as a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council committees on International Affairs, Immigration, Organizing, and Strategic Approaches. He is also on the Board of Directors of the Consumer Federation of America, and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Pacific Council on International Policy.

In 1992, Fiedler co-founded the Laogai Research Foundation (LRF), an organization devoted to studying the forced labor camp system in China. When the Foundation's Executive Director, Harry Wu, was detained in China in 1995, Fiedler coordinated the campaign to win his release. He still serves as a director of the LRF.

Fiedler has testified on behalf of the AFL-CIO before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House International Affairs Committee and its various subcommittees, as well as the Trade Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee concerning China policy. He attended three of the American Assembly conferences on China sponsored by Columbia University and has participated in a Council on Foreign Relations task force and study group on China. He has been interviewed on CBS, NBC, ABC,

CNN, and CNBC on China policy, international trade issues, human rights, and child labor.

A Vietnam veteran, Fiedler served with the U.S. Army in Hue in 1967–68. He received his B.A. in Political Science from Southern Illinois University. He is married with two adult children and resides in Virginia.

The Honorable Patrick A. Mulloy

Patrick A. Mulloy was appointed by Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid to a two-year term on the Commission that began on January 1, 2007, and expires December 31, 2009. Mr. Mulloy previously served as a member of the Commission from 2001 through 2006. He also presently serves as a consultant to the President of the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation and as an Adjunct Professor of International Trade Law at the law schools of Catholic University and George Mason University. He is also on the Advisory Board of the Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress.

Prior to assuming his present responsibilities, Commissioner Mulloy was nominated by President Clinton and confirmed by the U.S. Senate as Assistant Secretary for Market Access and Compliance in the Department of Commerce's International Trade Administration, where he served from 1998 to 2001. In that position, Commissioner Mulloy directed a trade policy unit of over two hundred international trade specialists, which focused worldwide on removing foreign barriers to U.S. exports and on ensuring that foreign countries comply with trade agreements negotiated with the United States. This latter activity involved discussions both in the World Trade Organization (WTO) and with individual governments. He traveled extensively, meeting with foreign leaders to advance market-opening programs in the European Union, Eastern Europe, China, India, Taiwan, Indonesia, Canada, and Central and South America. He was also appointed by President Clinton to serve as a member of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Prior to his employment as Assistant Secretary in the Department of Commerce, Commissioner Mulloy served 15 years in various senior positions on the staff of the U.S. Senate Banking Committee, including Chief International Counsel and General Counsel. In those positions, he contributed to much of the international trade and finance legislation formulated by the Committee such as the Foreign Bank Supervision Enhancement Act of 1991, the Export Enhancement Act of 1992, the Defense Production Act Amendments of 1994, and titles of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 dealing with foreign bribery, foreign investment, exchange rates, and export controls.

Before coming to the Senate, Commissioner Mulloy served as a senior attorney in the Antitrust Division of the U.S. Department of Justice, where he directed a staff of lawyers and economists, which supervised participation by U.S. oil companies in the Paris-based International Energy Agency (IEA). In earlier duties at the Justice Department, he represented the United States in a variety of cases related to Federal environmental laws, including criminal and civil enforcement actions in various U.S. District Courts, several Circuit Courts of Appeal, and the U.S. Supreme Court.

Commissioner Mulloy began his public service career as a Foreign Service Officer at the U.S. Department of State, where he served in the Office of UN Political Affairs, the Office of International Environmental and Oceans Affairs, and as Vice Consul in the U.S. Consulate General in Montreal, Canada.

Commissioner Mulloy, a native of Kingston, Pennsylvania, holds an LL.M. from Harvard University Law School, a J.D. from George Washington University Law School, an M.A. from the University of Notre Dame, and a B.A. from King's College. He is a member of the D.C. and Pennsylvania Bars and is a member of the Asia Society. He resides in Alexandria, Virginia, with his wife Marjorie, and they have three adult children.

The Honorable William A. Reinsch

William A. Reinsch was reappointed to the Commission by Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid for a term expiring December 31, 2009.

On April 2, 2001, Commissioner Reinsch joined the National Foreign Trade Council as President. The council, founded in 1914, is the only business organization dedicated solely to trade policy, export finance, international tax, and human resource issues. The organization represents some 300 companies through its offices in New York and Washington, DC.

Prior to joining the National Foreign Trade Council, Reinsch served as Under Secretary for Export Administration in the U.S. Department of Commerce. As head of the Bureau of Export Administration (subsequently renamed the Bureau of Industry and Security), he was charged with administering and enforcing the export control policies of the U.S. government, as well as its antiboycott laws. Major accomplishments during his tenure included refocusing controls in light of economic globalization, most notably on high-performance computers, microprocessors, encryption, and other items; completing the first complete revision of the Export Administration regulations in over 40 years; revising the interagency process for reviewing applications; and permitting electronic filing of applications over the Internet.

From 1991 through 1993, Commissioner Reinsch was a senior Legislative Assistant to Senator John D. Rockefeller IV, responsible for the Senator's work on trade, international economic policy, foreign affairs, and defense. He also provided staff support for Senator Rockefeller's related efforts on the Finance Committee and the Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committee.

From 1977 to 1991, Commissioner Reinsch served on the staff of the late Senator John Heinz as Chief Legislative Assistant, focusing on foreign trade and competitiveness policy issues. During that period, Senator Heinz was either Chairman or ranking minority member of the Banking Committee's Subcommittee on International Finance. He was also a member of the International Trade Subcommittee of the Finance Committee. Commissioner Reinsch provided staff support for the Senator on both subcommittees, which included participation in five revisions of the Export Administration Act and work on four major trade bills. Prior to 1977, Commissioner Reinsch was a Legislative Assistant to Representatives Richard Ottinger and Gilbert Gude, acting Staff Director of

the House Environmental Study Conference, and a teacher in Maryland.

During his tenure as Under Secretary, Commissioner Reinsch delivered more than 200 speeches and testified 53 times before various committees of Congress. His publications include "Why China Matters to the Health of the U.S. Economy," in *Economics and National Security: The Case of China*, 2002; "The Role and Effectiveness of U.S. Export Control Policy in the Age of Globalization," *The Monitor* (Center for International Trade and Security: Spring 2000); "Export Controls in the Age of Globalization," *The Monitor* (Center for International Trade and Security: Summer 1999); "Should Uncle Sam Control U.S. Technology Exports?" *Insight Magazine*, September 8, 1997; "Encryption Policy Strikes a Balance," *Journal of Commerce*, March 5, 1997; "Building a New Economic Relationship with Japan," in I.M. Destler and Yankelovich, D., eds., *Beyond the Beltway: Engaging the Public in U.S. Foreign Policy* (W.W. Norton: April 1994).

In addition to his legislative work, Commissioner Reinsch served as an adjunct associate professor at the University of Maryland University College Graduate School of Management and Technology, teaching a course in international trade and trade policy. He is also a member of the boards of the Middle East Institute, the Executive Council on Diplomacy, and KHI Services, Inc.

The Honorable Dennis C. Shea

Commissioner Dennis C. Shea was reappointed on April 21, 2009, by Senate Republican Leader Mitch McConnell for a second two-year term expiring December 31, 2010.

Commissioner Shea is an attorney with more than 20 years of experience in government and public policy. Mr. Shea began his career as a corporate lawyer at Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom. In 1988, he joined the Office of Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole as counsel and later became the office's deputy chief of staff. In these capacities, he advised Senator Dole and other Republican Senators on a broad range of domestic policy issues, was involved in the drafting of numerous pieces of legislation, and was recognized as one of the most influential staffers on Capitol Hill. Mr. Shea's service in the Office of the Senate Republican Leader was interrupted in 1992, when he ran for Congress in New York's 7th Congressional District after receiving the Republican and Conservative Party nominations.

In 1995 and 1996, Mr. Shea continued to help shape the national public policy debate while serving as director of policy for the Dole for President Campaign. Following the 1996 presidential election, Mr. Shea worked in the private sector, providing legislative and public affairs counsel to Fortune 500 companies, major U.S. financial institutions, professional associations, and children's hospitals, while employed at BKSH & Associates and Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson and Hand. Mr. Shea also served as a consultant to the American Enterprise Institute and The Brookings Institution on a report that outlined recommendations for reforming the independent counsel statute.

In 2003, Mr. Shea was named the executive director of the President's Commission on the U.S. Postal Service. Many of the commis-

sion's recommendations were adopted as part of postal reform legislation recently enacted by Congress and signed into law. In 2004, Mr. Shea was nominated by President George W. Bush and later confirmed as assistant secretary for Policy Development and Research ("PD&R") at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). As the head of the PD&R office, Mr. Shea led a team responsible for conducting much of the critical economic analysis necessary to support HUD's mission. In 2005, Mr. Shea left HUD to serve as senior advisor to Senator Elizabeth Dole in her capacity as chair of the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

Mr. Shea received a J.D., an M.A. in American History, and a B.A. in government, all from Harvard University. He is admitted to the bar in New York and the District of Columbia. Mr. Shea currently resides in Alexandria, Virginia, with his wife Elizabeth and daughter Juliette.

Daniel M. Slane

Daniel M. Slane was appointed to the Commission by House Minority Leader John Boehner on December 10, 2007, for a two-year term expiring on December 31, 2009.

Mr. Slane is the founder and co-owner of the Slane Company, whose principal businesses include real estate development, lumber, furniture, waste treatment, telecommunications, energy, and medical treatment for cancer tumors. Mr. Slane has extensive international business experience, including operating a business in China. Prior to becoming a member of the Commission, Mr. Slane manufactured plywood and related wood products at factories in Harbin, Dalian, and Balu (Pizhou), China. In 2007, he sold his interest in this company.

Mr. Slane served two years on active duty as a U.S. Army Captain in Military Intelligence. He served for a number of years as a Case Officer with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. He worked in the White House under President Gerald R. Ford.

Mr. Slane was the former Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Ohio State University. Ohio State is the nation's largest university, with an annual budget of \$4 billion. He is also the former chairman of University Hospital, a 1,000 bed regional hospital in Columbus and the former chairman of the James Cancer Hospital, one of 11 NIC Comprehensive Cancer Centers in the country. He currently serves on the board of two financial institutions and on a number of nonprofit boards.

He received a Bachelor of Science Degree in Business Administration and Juris Doctor Degree in Law from The Ohio State University. He holds a Master's Degree in International Law from the Europa Institute at the University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Mr. Slane is a member of the Ohio Bar and formerly a partner in the law firm of Grieser, Schafer, Blumenstiel and Slane.

Peter Videnieks

Mr. Videnieks was reappointed on November 20, 2008, by Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid for a second two-year term expiring December 31, 2010.

Prior to his appointment, Commissioner Videnieks served on the staff of Senator Robert C. Byrd (D-WVA), President Pro Tempore of the U.S. Senate and Chairman of the U.S. Senate Appropriations Committee, as an advisor on international affairs and energy issues. He also served on the staffs of the U.S. Trade Deficit Review Commission and the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission. Mr. Videnieks was previously a contracting officer for NASA, the Justice Department, and the U.S. Customs Service, where he was Division Director. He has also been an IRS revenue officer. He holds degrees from the University of Maryland (B.A. economics) and the George Washington University (M.S.A. with concentration in procurement and contracting). Mr. Videnieks was born in Latvia and lives with his wife Barbara on a farm in Northern Virginia. His language skills are Latvian, Spanish, and German.

Michael R. Wessel

Commissioner Michael R. Wessel is an original member of the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission and was reappointed by House Democratic Leader Nancy Pelosi for a two-year term expiring December 31, 2010.

Commissioner Wessel is President of The Wessel Group Inc., a public affairs consulting firm offering expertise in government, politics, and international affairs. He was formerly the Executive Vice President at the Downey McGrath Group, Inc. He served on the staff of House Democratic Leader Richard A. Gephardt for more than 20 years, leaving his position as General Counsel in March 1998. In addition to his duties as General Counsel, Commissioner Wessel was Mr. Gephardt's chief policy advisor, strategist, and negotiator. He was responsible for the development, coordination, management, and implementation of the Democratic Leader's overall policy and political objectives, with specific responsibility for international trade, finance, economics, labor, and taxation.

During his more than 20 years on Capitol Hill, Commissioner Wessel served in a number of positions: He was Mr. Gephardt's principal Ways and Means aide, where he developed and implemented numerous tax and trade policy initiatives. He participated in the enactment of every major trade policy initiative from 1978 until his departure in 1998. In the late 1980s, he was the Executive Director of the House Trade and Competitiveness Task Force, where he was responsible for the Democrats' trade and competitiveness agenda as well as overall coordination of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988.

He was intimately involved in the development of comprehensive tax reform legislation in the early 1980s and every major tax bill during his tenure. Beginning in 1989, he became the principal advisor to the Democratic Leadership on economic policy matters and served as tax policy coordinator to the 1990 budget summit. In 1995, he developed the 10 percent Tax Plan, a comprehensive tax reform initiative that would enable roughly four out of five taxpayers to pay no more than a 10 percent rate in federal income taxes. It became the principal Democratic tax reform alternative. In 1988, he served as National Issues Director for Gephardt's Presidential campaign. During the 1992 Clinton/Gore campaign, he as-

sisted on a broad range of issues and served as a Senior Policy Advisor to the Clinton/Gore transition office. In 2004 he was a Senior Policy Advisor to the Gephardt for President campaign and later co-chaired the Trade Policy Group for the Kerry-Edwards campaign. In 2008, he was publicly identified as a trade and economic policy advisor to President Obama's presidential campaign.

He has coauthored a number of articles with Democratic Leader Gephardt and a book, *An Even Better Place: America in the 21st Century* (Public Affairs: 1999). Commissioner Wessel served as a member of the U.S. Trade Deficit Review Commission in 1999–2000, a congressionally created commission charged with studying the nature, causes, and consequences of the U.S. merchandise trade and current account deficits.

Commissioner Wessel holds a B.A. and a J.D. from George Washington University. He is a member of the bar of the District of Columbia and Pennsylvania and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He and his wife Andrea have four children.

Larry M. Wortzel, Ph.D, Vice Chairman

Larry M. Wortzel was reappointed by House Republican Leader John Boehner on December 10, 2008, for a fifth term expiring December 31, 2010. He was unanimously elected as the Commission Vice Chairman for the 2009 report cycle effective January 1, 2009. He previously served as Chairman for the 2006 and 2008 report cycles.

He previously served as the Director of the Asian Studies Center and Vice President for foreign policy at The Heritage Foundation. A leading authority on China, Asia, national security, and military strategy, Commissioner Wortzel had a distinguished 32-year career in the U.S. armed forces. His last military position was as director of the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College.

Following three years in the Marine Corps, Commissioner Wortzel enlisted in the U.S. Army in 1970. His first assignment with the Army Security Agency took him to Thailand, where he focused on Chinese military communications in Vietnam and Laos. Within three years, he had graduated Infantry Officer Candidate School, as well as both Airborne and Ranger schools. After four years as an infantry officer, he shifted to military intelligence. Commissioner Wortzel traveled regularly throughout Asia while serving the U.S. Pacific Command from 1978 to 1982. The following year he attended the National University of Singapore, where he studied advanced Chinese and traveled in China and Southeast Asia. He next worked for the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, developing counterintelligence programs to protect emerging defense technologies from foreign espionage. In addition, he managed programs to gather foreign intelligence for the Army Intelligence and Security Command.

From 1988 to 1990, Commissioner Wortzel was Assistant Army Attaché at the U.S. embassy in China, where he witnessed and reported on the Tiananmen Massacre. After assignments as an army strategist and managing army intelligence officers, he returned to China in 1995 as the Army Attaché. In December 1997, he became a faculty member of the U.S. Army War College, serving as director

of the Strategic Studies Institute. He retired from the army as a colonel.

Commissioner Wortzel's books include *Class in China: Stratification in a Classless Society* (Greenwood Press: 1987); *China's Military Modernization: International Implications* (Greenwood: 1988); *The Chinese Armed Forces in the 21st Century* (Carlisle, PA: 1999); and *Dictionary of Contemporary Chinese Military History* (Greenwood: 1999). He regularly publishes articles on Asian security matters.

A graduate of the Armed Forces Staff College and the U.S. Army War College, Commissioner Wortzel earned his B.A. from Columbus College, Georgia, and his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Hawaii. He and his wife, Christine, live in Williamsburg, Virginia. They have two married sons and two grandchildren.